

Green Steps to Better

**Protecting today to transform
tomorrow**

Caroline Lucas MP

“To be truly radical is to make hope possible
rather than despair convincing”

Raymond Williams

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Green Steps to Better

Nine priorities for government action to ensure short-term responses to the coronavirus crisis create resilient green foundations for a better future

In difficult times, we're reminded of what really matters: the people we love and care for, our communities and the society of which we are all a part. We also find out a lot about what works, and what doesn't. The impact of Covid-19 has laid bare profound weaknesses in our economy. We have learned how much more easily we'd be able to respond to shocks if our public services were better resourced and our local economies were better supported. We've noticed how so-called ordinary people can respond more quickly than the government, and often more creatively. We've seen how an economy built on the extraction of profit, turbo-charged by a decade of politically motivated austerity, has eroded our collective social immune system and left us vulnerable.

We've learnt that many things we were told were impossible or unrealistic, are possible. The government has shown that it can find the money to house homeless people, recruit more people to our health service, pay people who can't work and write off billions in public debt overnight. A well-funded healthcare system, a basic income for everyone, valuing the people on whom we rely to make society run, and preserving a liveable planet – all of these things are political choices. So the actions that we take now must be based on conscious choices about

the kind of future we want to create, laying the foundations for us to build something better than before.

Here, I set out some of the first green steps that could transform our future:

Rescue people and the planet, not climate criminals:

social and environmental conditions on government spending today to transform tomorrow

A right to healthy food, locally produced: growing a more resilient and sustainable food system that guarantees healthy food for all

A right to affordable clean energy: cancelling fuel debt, ending fuel poverty and investing in energy efficiency and renewables

A safe home for everyone: safe and affordable housing for all

A basic income for all: a guaranteed minimum, providing security for everyone

Safer streets and cleaner air: reclaiming our streets for cycling and walking

A right to green space: opening up access and new wild places for nature and people

Banks that work for us, and our communities: getting finance to small businesses and banks back on the high street

A Wellbeing Economy: designed to deliver health, happiness and a habitable planet

A glimpse of what else our society could become

The author Rebecca Solnit wrote that disasters give us “a glimpse of who else we ourselves may be, and what else our society could become”. The impact of coronavirus has been devastating, and it has also shown what we can do in a crisis if we all pull together. At the time of writing, there are at least 4,500 mutual aid groups in the UK¹, made up of people across the country who have come together to care collectively for one another. These groups are not just providing food but setting up telephone friendship teams and helping to install digital equipment for the elderly. Frustrated by government inaction, people have printed 3D masks for key workers - from nurses to people working in supermarkets - while teams of volunteers are stitching scrubs for healthcare workers.

The people all too readily dismissed by the government as low-skilled are those keeping society going: caring for us in hospitals, caring for our parents and grandparents, our neighbours and our friends, driving our ambulances, cleaning our hospitals, working in pharmacies, stocking our supermarket shelves, making deliveries and harvesting our food. That was as true before Covid-19 as it is now. Let's never go back to forgetting what we really value.

Covid-19 has revealed just how vulnerable our food system is to shocks, and just how many people in the UK can't afford to eat. Long supermarket supply chains took time to adapt, while

access to food has been determined by ability to pay and where you live. For those able to use supermarkets, low supplies of basic foodstuffs have been particularly harmful for those on low incomes. Demand at foodbanks has rocketed. Many farmers and local food businesses have been quick to adapt, some turning their entire businesses around in a matter of days. Small restaurants, farmers and caterers have started box delivery schemes, and freshly cooked meals for people self-isolating - but for others, change has been more of a struggle, and government schemes haven't looked to the local, favouring big business instead. ²

It's been said that while we are weathering the same storm, we are not in the same boat. Restrictions on movement have also revealed the extent to which we are living parallel lives and have highlighted the uneven distribution of space. The experience of lockdown is very different if you live in a large house with a garden, compared with being crowded into a tiny flat. The closure of public parks was rightly met with consternation - highlighting the shortage of public green space in heavily populated, often lower income areas. Now, and beyond the current phase of the pandemic, we must reclaim public spaces for people and cyclists

Covid-19 has been devastating for many of us and it's likely that its impacts will be felt for years to come. There are many things, too, that we have learned through our response to the crisis, that we will want to hold onto and expand: our capacity to care for one another, our understanding of who really makes a difference in society, our creativity and ability to innovate, the peace and wellbeing that comes from hearing the birds sing. As we move through the phases of this pandemic, we can choose to break with a past that was working badly for the vast majority of people and destroying the natural world on which we all depend.

We can choose instead to redesign our economy and society. The actions we take now will shape the future. So let's choose to meet the needs of everyone for food, shelter, care, health, and dignity, guaranteeing a basic income and secure housing for all, irrespective of employment or nationality. Let's ensure the public services and social infrastructure that provide society's immune system - from the NHS and social care to our schools and colleges - are guaranteed the resources they need. Let's transform and rebalance society with a Green New Deal, creating millions of jobs, tackling the climate emergency, protecting the natural world, and improving the lives of people and families in every town, city and village by putting power back in their hands.

These are just some aspects of the future that we are finally daring to imagine for our ourselves - and it starts with small green steps. The ideas I have set out here are the start of a conversation, not the end, and I hope you will join me as we journey towards a new and better normal.

Caroline Lucas MP, May 2020

Rescue people and the planet, not climate criminals:

social and environmental conditions on government spending today to transform tomorrow

The government must attach social and environmental conditions to any public money any public money given in bailouts to large companies that ask for support during and beyond the lockdown period of the pandemic response. Where necessary, these should transform outdated company structures so that they are fit for a post-Covid world, ensuring that company activity is fair for workers and society and contributes to addressing the climate and ecological emergencies.^{3 4 5 6}

Conditions on companies in return for public support should include:

An obligation to pay taxes in full, making a full and fair contribution to the societies of which they are a part

The adoption of climate targets in line with the Paris agreement - with plans to meet them

The adoption of maximum pay ratios and employee representation on boards

A requirement for firms to use the Coronavirus Job Retention Scheme to avoid laying off staff

No pay-cuts for people on low wages.

A right to healthy food, locally produced: growing a more resilient and sustainable food system that guarantees healthy food for all

Government needs to do more to support small farms and local shops during the Covid-19 crisis - and prioritise this sector after the immediate crisis period has passed, alongside guaranteeing the right to food for all.

The risks, inequalities and fragilities of the current food system, which depends on long supply chains and is dominated by big businesses, are being exposed by the pandemic⁷. Long, centralised food chains have been slow to adapt, meaning farmers have been forced to pour milk down the drain while millions go hungry. Supermarkets are good at getting food to those who can pay, but not necessarily to those in need, and not everyone is able to access them.

Just as our health system was unprepared for a severe shock, neither was our food system. Researchers estimate that 1.5 million Britons have gone a whole day without food⁸ during the Covid-19 crisis period, while supermarkets have profited. Just as public health cannot be left to the market to deliver what we need, neither can food. Realising everyone's right to healthy food today must go hand in hand with a shift to a resilient, re-localised and regenerative food and farming system that prioritises public health and sustainability⁹.

First green steps to a better food system should include:

Dedicated emergency business support to enable smaller farmers and growers and food businesses to survive and adapt by diverting produce that would normally go to cafes and restaurants directly to the public or to local organisations providing food for vulnerable people.

Extending the school food voucher scheme not only to include all supermarkets, but to local shops, farmers markets, and community food organisations such as box schemes, and to cover the summer holidays¹⁰. Meanwhile, schools and local authorities should be empowered to pursue local solutions.

New funding for local food networks to be provided, in the short and long-term, with a focus on supporting the widespread adoption of agroecological production methods¹¹.

A refocussed Agriculture Bill and national food strategy, which incorporate the lessons of the current crisis for resilience, public health and sustainability – from a local to global perspective - including through a realisation of the right to food in UK law, and a shift towards a more local agroecological approach.

A right to affordable clean energy: cancelling fuel debt, ending fuel poverty and investing in energy efficiency and renewables

The UK has some of the leakiest homes in Europe¹², and even before coronavirus over 10% of UK households were in fuel poverty¹³. Imagine how much worse it could have been if the pandemic had struck in winter. The government must do more now to guarantee that nobody will be left without heat or electricity. Once the worst of the crisis has passed it must finally get to grips with fuel poverty and energy inefficiency by insulating and retrofitting all of the UK's 29 million¹⁴ existing homes creating thousands of skilled jobs.

First green steps to guaranteed affordable green energy should include:¹⁵¹⁶

Providing emergency top up credit grants to all pre-payment meter customers for the duration of enforced social distancing - no one must be left without power or heating

Agreeing a standard extended overdraft limit with providers for all pre-payment meter customers

Conducting targeted energy debt write offs for credit customers facing financial hardship

Starting work now on a plan to roll out insulation and retrofit all of the UK's 29 million homes as soon as it is safe to do so, starting with homes most at risk of fuel poverty, through:

A directly supported retrofit programme for vulnerable households

A national retrofit fund for social housing - available to local authorities, Arms Length Management Organisations and Housing Associations

A distributed programme of public expenditure to drive energy retrofits in owner occupied homes using a network of accredited surveyors and installers

A training scheme that can be designed and prepared now to make sure that enough people have the skills needed to transform our outdated housing stock

Ending fossil fuel subsidies and investing in cheap and clean renewable energy

A safe home for everyone: safe and affordable housing for all

As we are confined to our homes while strict social distancing measures are in place, Covid-19 has underscored just how many people are trapped in cramped, poor-quality housing or don't have a home at all. Over the last 40 years, a series of political choices have treated our homes as little more than financial assets, exacerbating inequality and leaving the fundamental right to a roof over our head in the hands of a distorted market¹⁷.

Yet almost overnight, as lockdown measures were imposed to try to prevent the spread of coronavirus, street homeless people were found accommodation by the government – something we had previously been told was impossible. Renters were given some temporary relief too – with government to halt evictions for three months and to raise the Local Housing Allowance rate.

Everyone deserves a safe, affordable, place to live and we can't make our society more equal until we start treating our houses as homes. Fundamental change is needed to transform our housing market so that it is fit for the future, but first green steps to better homes include:

A secure accommodation guarantee for those who have been housed during the crisis. Government should provide local authorities with the resources they need to end street and other homelessness, as we begin to relax social distancing measures, while also taking steps to increase social housing as we move through and beyond the pandemic.

A government funded freeze on rental payments for those who need it - nobody should be forced to build up more rent debt because of the impact of this crisis

Housing benefit to be set at the median cost of rent and no five week wait - renters and landlords alike need the certainty and security that comes from a fair and timely system.

Establishing a ‘Living Rent Commission’ as a critical first step towards controlling the sky-high rents faced by people in the private rented sector.

Following the principles that underpin the idea of a living wage, the Commission would be tasked with setting out how an effective rent control policy could work, so that government could implement the steps needed to ensure that people spend no more than a third of their income on rent.¹⁸

Laying the foundations for a mass programme of zero-carbon council and community housing. The government needs to give councils and communities sufficient grant subsidy to get building decent, modern, zero carbon homes, including through projects like community land trusts. This is the way to create a major national asset, against which councils can borrow and retain rent receipts, whilst giving communities long term stewardship. This is how to ensure housing remains genuinely affordable based on what people actually earn in their area, not just now but for every future occupier.

A basic income for everyone: a guaranteed minimum, providing security for all

Many people in the UK didn't have enough to live on before the pandemic. This situation has worsened as buying basics becomes more difficult, businesses go bust and jobs are lost. A guaranteed minimum income, a Universal Basic Income, would provide desperately needed security, especially at this moment of crisis.

Too many people are excluded from the schemes the government has already introduced to help protect jobs and support self-employment income, whilst Universal Credit is still far from the level of a living wage and is struggling to keep up with the number of new applications. The current social security system is too cumbersome and inefficient for what's a fast moving and unpredictable reality - we need government action now for a universal basic income.¹⁹²⁰²¹

The first steps to income certainty for all include:

The Chancellor and Secretary of State for Work and Pensions should prioritise designing a mechanism to urgently roll out a Universal Basic Income, based on existing options and pilot schemes.²²

Looking forward, with the risk of long-lasting economic hardship and fewer jobs available, **a minimum guaranteed income for all UK residents should go hand in hand with genuine living wage levels** and would enable us to share out the available work more equally.

Safer streets and cleaner air: reclaiming our streets for cycling and walking

Covid-19 has meant most of us spending more time than usual in our neighbourhoods. We are noticing how cars and roads dominate²³, and that pavements are often not wide enough to maintain social distancing. Less traffic on the roads now has reduced air pollution levels and decreased injuries and deaths from collisions, whilst a growing body of research seems to show that death rates from Covid-19 are higher in polluted areas.²⁴

Some local councils, including Brighton and Hove, have already reallocated road space for walkers and cyclists²⁵. Manchester closed streets to create new cycling and running lanes over the Easter weekend, Hackney is planning new car-free zones to give people space to exercise²⁶ and Leicester has created 'pop up' bike lanes to make it easier for key workers to cycle to work²⁷. The government should go further - taking co-ordinated action to give pedestrians and cyclists our streets back –for the duration of any lockdown, and beyond.

Some first green steps to better streets and cleaner air:

Ministerial leadership in support of all councils using their powers to reallocate road space for everyone to walk, cycle, shop, and exercise safely²⁸

Government funding for local authorities to implement immediate measures like pop-up cycle lanes or pavement widening

A nationwide ban on pavement parking, making sure that the full width of pavements are accessible to pedestrians

Extending the powers of councils to reallocate road space beyond the current lock-down period, creating car-free zones and reclaiming out streets

Changing the default urban speed limit to 20mph: protecting key workers making essential journeys on public transport; reducing the number of collisions to reduce pressure on our emergency services; and protecting people walking and cycling for exercise or shopping trips²⁹

With the AA predicting a permanent reduction in the demand for car travel³⁰, now is the time to **cancel new major road schemes and reallocate the £27bn budget to making safe streets, clean air and space for walking and cycling, shopping and even play a reality - for everyone, every day**

Reorienting local economic and planning policy towards 15-minute neighbourhoods, where people can access their most basic, day-to-day needs within a 15-minute walk of their home.³¹

A right to green space for all: opening up access and new wild places for nature and people

The coronavirus pandemic has exposed vast inequality in access to green space: wealth buys you large gardens and second homes, whereas poverty all too frequently means living in a cramped tiny flat with no green space for miles. In London, the wealthier areas don't just have more, bigger, gardens and lower population density, they have more public green space, too. Recent research suggests that, on average, 35% of the wealthiest areas are made up of public space, compared to 25% in the most deprived.³² 2.6 million people in the UK are not within easy walking distance of a publicly accessible green space.³³ People rightly place huge value on parks and other open areas as places to exercise and spend time, and there was widespread consternation when parks in densely populated areas were closed in the early days of the pandemic.

The government needs to take some important steps to increase access to green space now, and in the future, such as:

Opening up public access to private green space, working with golf clubs to open up more of the UK's 300,000 acres of golf courses³⁴, with public schools who have playing fields and with the owners of other appropriate private green spaces, so where possible they can be used more communally, for as long as social distancing measures are in place³⁵

Creating a new right to access green space, expanding the London National Park City scheme³⁶ to

make sure that nobody has to walk more than ten-minutes, for example, to enjoy green space

Creating Pocket Parks for all, by setting a target for accessible wild green space within one kilometre of every home³⁷

A national Market Garden City programme could massively increase local food growing, enhancing cityscapes, and increasing the resilience of our food system³⁸

Re-wilding public land – around hospitals, police stations, fire stations, and elsewhere – with native grassland, flowers and trees, to be overseen by Council wildlife officers³⁹

Some of our best wildlife sites are old industrial “brownfield” sites. Some need to be permanently protected as Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs). But we need to look beyond the “permanent” protection provided by traditional nature reserves. Many brownfield sites are particularly beneficial before they get too overgrown, so let’s have **“pop-up” brownfield sites: temporary protection for derelict land.**⁴⁰

Banks that work for us, and our communities: getting finance to small businesses, and banks back on the high street

The obstacles faced by those wanting to use the government's small business loan scheme has laid bare just how badly the banking system fails us all - even after the public bailouts that followed the financial crisis of 2008-09. Banks have become so consolidated and so centralised that they now lack the infrastructure and the capacity to serve the needs of local businesses and local communities.

The UK's lack of a significant local or regional banking presence is unusual: approximately 67%, 57% and 34% of the banking systems in Germany, Japan and America respectively are locally controlled, compared to just 3% in the UK.⁴¹ In other countries community-based banking plays a key role in promoting strong local economies, which will be crucial as we emerge through the crisis phase of the pandemic.

First steps to a local banking system that works for us:

Government should require the banks to guarantee that small and medium enterprises are able to access the loans they need now, simplifying and speeding up the process

As we move beyond the crisis phase of the pandemic, government should build a resilient and diverse local banking infrastructure that is able to meet the needs of small and medium sized enterprises and designed to support adaptable strong, local economies, by:

Breaking up the part publicly owned RBS to create a network of local banks in England, with the degree of decentralisation in Wales and Scotland, and Ulster Bank, a matter for their national governments. These could be based on Germany's Sparkassen, a network of savings banks that are governed in the public interest⁴²

Support the development of regional stakeholder banks, like the newly formed South West mutual, a co-operative bank for the South West⁴³

A Wellbeing Economy: designed to deliver health, happiness and a habitable planet

In response to this crisis, the government has prioritised the health of the public and our wellbeing over economic growth. That's absolutely the right thing to do – not only in a time of crisis, but as we move beyond the pandemic too. Covid-19 has exposed the fragility and failures of the current economic mode:- key workers are paid low wages; severe financial insecurity, economic inequality and energy and food poverty affect millions of people; local economies have frequently been hollowed out, leaving them vulnerable to shocks; and the climate and biodiversity crises are worsening. We must break with a past that wasn't working for the vast majority of people. Instead, government can choose to transform the future through wellbeing economy designed to directly prioritise the things we are learning to value, like public health and equality, community resilience, climate action and environmental protection. ⁴⁴

The first green steps towards something better than before might look like this:

The government should use a wellbeing economy approach to guide both its immediate crisis response and recovery plans

With economic forecasts suggesting economic growth will be slow or non-existent anyway, **the government must adopt a new approach so harmful GDP growth is no longer seen as the way to ensure everyone has the food, housing, health care, community and financial security they need**

The Treasury should prioritise wellbeing as its primary goal and collaborate with finance ministries who are part of the Wellbeing Economy Governments (WEGo) initiative ⁴⁵

The government should place higher priority on long term resilience and sustainability to reduce future risks to humanity - not just from pandemics, but from climate and ecological crises too - including through a more comprehensive and cross-departmental approach to implementing the Sustainable Development Goals

The Treasury should actively support cities, towns and local authorities towards the adoption of 'doughnut economics' as recently announced by the City of Amsterdam. ⁴⁶This concept was developed by the economist Kate Raworth⁴⁷ - it sets out the social foundation of wellbeing that no-one should fall below, and an ecological ceiling of planetary pressure that we should not go beyond. Between the two, lies a safe and just space for all.



Endnotes

¹ Covid-19 Mutual Aid UK is a volunteer led organisation supporting local community groups organising mutual aid throughout the Covid-19 outbreak in the UK:

<https://covidmutualaid.org>

² Government voucher schemes are only redeemable in limited number of major supermarkets, meaning that local shops aren't able to supply local need – this not only disadvantages local shops, it is also difficult for people who don't live within easy reach of a supermarket. The scheme has also been criticised for being unnecessarily complicated, with many parents unable to download vouchers or finding that supermarkets won't accept them, see: Buchanan, M, and Burns, J (2020) Coronavirus: Families still waiting for free school meal vouchers, BBC News, 30 April 2020:

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-52488208> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

³ A range of groups from the International Energy Agency to the Green Alliance have made the case for any economic rescue plans to also address the climate crisis. See, for example, Harvey, F, (2020) Covid-19 rescue plans must be green say environmentalists, The Guardian, 24th March 2020:

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/mar/24/covid-19-economic-rescue-plans-must-be-green-say-environmentalists> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁴ On 31st March 2020, Greenpeace UK, Common Wealth, Possible and 22 other organisations wrote to the Chancellor to urge him to ensure that any money provided to support the public interest is spent in the public interest, and addresses social and economic priorities. Letter available at: <https://www.greenpeace.org.uk/news/the-airlines-industry-wants-a-government-bailout-heres-what-needs-to-happen/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁵ On 1st April 2020, I set out the case for conditions on bailouts, and the wider case for the transition away from fossil fuels in my Metro column, Lucas C, (2020) Rishi Sunak shouldn't bail out big polluting industries, The Metro, 1st April 2020:

<https://metro.co.uk/2020/04/01/response-coronavirus-shouldnt-distract-looming-climate-crisis-12491467/?ito=cbsshare> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁶ On 2nd April 2020, I wrote to Robert Courts, PPS to the Secretary of State, Department for Transport, urging him to apply the conditions set out by the think tanks, Common Wealth and IPPR to any financial rescue packages for airlines. The letter is available on my website, here: <https://www.carolinelucas.com/latest/coronavirus-and-aviation-bailouts> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁷ See, for example: Chapman, B, (2020) Milk thrown down the drain while millions go hungry: Lockdown puts an increasing strain on Britain's food system, The Independent, 18 April 2020:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/coronavirus-lockdown-uk-food-supplies-strain-supermarkets-a9469476.html> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁸ Lawrence, F, (2020) UK hunger crisis: 1.5 million go whole day without food, The Guardian, 11 April 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/apr/11/uk-hunger-crisis-15m-people-go-whole-day-without-food>. [Accessed 3 May 2020] The full Food Foundation Survey is available at: <https://foodfoundation.org.uk/new-food-foundation-survey-three-million-britons-are-going-hungry-just-three-weeks-into-lockdown/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁹ In a letter to the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs on 7 April 2020, I urged the Secretary of State to consider a number of measures to support local food production, the vulnerable and to support the shift to a more sustainable, healthy and resilient food system. The letter is available at: <https://www.carolinelucas.com/latest/coronavirus-and-access-to-food> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹⁰ Sustain, the Alliance for Better Food and Farming, report that the Children's Food Campaign, School Food Matters are calling for the inclusion in the voucher scheme of independent convenience shop networks, the network of fruit and veg box schemes and wholesale distributors now also delivering to family home, see: Free school meals during Covid-19: new vouchers & guidance launched, see: Sustain (2020) Coronavirus Food Alert: Free school meals during Covid-19: new vouchers & guidance launched, 31 March 2020: https://www.sustainweb.org/news/mar20_fsmvouchers [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹¹ In a letter to the Chancellor and the Minister for Environment, Fisheries and Food, The Landworkers Alliance set out their demands for an emergency "Land Army" package with 4 strands. The letter is available at: <https://landworkersalliance.org.uk/emergency-land-army-package/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹² See, for example, Cuff, M, (2020) Draughty British homes lose heat more quickly than those in Europe, I-news, 20 February 2020: <https://inews.co.uk/news/environment/britain-energy-draughty-fuel-leakiest-homes-1886053> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹³ National Statistics (2019) Annual Fuel Poverty Statistics in England, 2019 (2017 data) Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy, 13 June 2019: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/829006/Annual_Fuel_Poverty_Statistics_Report_2019__2017_data_.pdf [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹⁴ See: UK Housing: Fit for the future?, Committee on Climate Change, February 2019: <https://www.theccc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/UK-housing-Fit-for-the-future-CCC-2019.pdf> [Accessed 3 May 2019]

¹⁵ National Energy Action, set out measures to protect vulnerable energy customers during Covid-19 here: <https://www.nea.org.uk/protecting-vulnerable-energy-customers-during-covid-19-outbreak/> [Accessed 3 May 2019]

¹⁶ Fuel Poverty Action have launched a petition calling on the government to guarantee people's heat and power, available at: <https://www.change.org/p/rt-hon-alok-sharma-mp-covid-19-guarantee-people-s-heat-and-power> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹⁷ Stratford, B and McCann, D (2018) The Common Ground Trust: a route out of the housing crisis, Progressive Economics Group (PEG): <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5991db18e4fcb524946fb639/t/5ba4da4a41920219a41e7bae/1537530448201/Beth+Stratford+++final.pdf> [Accessed 3 May 2019]

¹⁸ I proposed a Living Rent Commission in my Housing Charter published in the run up to the 2015 General Election, and subsequently put forward an amendment to the Housing Bill proposing the establishment of a Living Rent Commission in January 2016. See also: Lucas, C (2016) Private tenants are crying out for a living rent commission, 12 January 2016, The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/12/private-tenants-living-rent-commission> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

¹⁹ I am one of 110 MPs and Peers who wrote to the Chancellor on 21 April 2020 to urge him to introduce a Recovery Universal Basic Income in response to the economic uncertainty of COVID-19. For more on the letter, and the campaign that accompanies it, see here: <https://www.basicincomeconversation.org> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²⁰ For a more detailed explanation of the case for a Universal Basic Income as part of the response to Covid-19, see Standing, G (2020) Coronavirus has shown us why we urgently need to make a basic income a reality, World Economic Forum, 13 April 2020: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2020/04/coronavirus-made-basic-income-vital/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²¹ A fully-costed Universal Basic Income was included in the Green Party's 2019 election manifesto: <https://www.greenparty.org.uk/news/2019/11/15/green-party-announces-plan-for-fully-costed-universal-basic-income-for-everyone/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²² See: Lansley, S and Reed, H (2019) Basic Income for All: From Desirability to Feasibility, Compass, available at: https://www.compassonline.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Compass_BasicIncomeForAll_2019.pdf [Accessed 3 May 2020] Sheffield City Council have backed a proposal for a UBI pilot put forward by Sheffield UBI Lab, see: Gold, H (2019) Sheffield council backs universal basic income trial, The Guardian, 12 June 2019: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/jun/12/sheffield-council-backs-universal-basic-income-trial>. [Accessed 3 May 2020] In January 2020 Hull City Councillors wrote to then Chancellor Sajid Javid, asking for permission to trial a weekly basic income, see: Halliday, J (2020) Hull asks to be first UK city to trial universal basic income, The

Guardian, 19 January 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/jan/19/hull-universal-basic-income-trial> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²³ For more, see: Unnecessary travel? The return of breathable air and rethinking transport in a crisis, Rapid Transition Alliance, 15 April 2020: <https://www.rapidtransition.org/stories/unnecessary-travel-the-return-of-breathable-air-and-rethinking-transport-in-a-crisis/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²⁴ See, for example, Carrington, D (2020) Air pollution may be 'key contributor' to Covid-19 deaths – study, The Guardian, 20 April 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2020/apr/20/air-pollution-may-be-key-contributor-to-covid-19-deaths-study> {Accessed 3 May 2020}

²⁵ For more, see: Harrabin, R (2020) Coronavirus: Banning cars made easier to aid social distancing, BBC News, 20 April 2020 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/amp/science-environment-52353942> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

²⁶ Paton, G (2020) Coronavirus: Cars to be banned from roads so joggers can exercise safely during lockdown, The Times, 14 April 2020: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/news/coronavirus-cars-to-be-banned-from-roads-so-joggers-can-exercise-safely-during-lockdown-l2dp03v8m> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

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²⁹ My Green Party colleague, Caroline Russel wrote to the Mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, on 15 April 2020 urging him to reduce traffic speeds in the capital: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2020_04_15_reducing_default_speed_limits_to_reduce_injuries_save_lives_and_lower_demand_on_the_nhs.pdf

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February 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/feb/07/paris-mayor-unveils-15-minute-city-plan-in-re-election-campaign> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

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⁴³ For more on local stakeholder banks see: Travers Smith, F and Van Lerven, F (2018) The Local Banking Toolkit: A practical guide to starting a regional community bank, New Economics Foundation, 17 August 2018: <https://neweconomics.org/2018/08/local-banking-toolkit> [Accessed 3 May 2020] and the South West Mutual at: <https://southwestmutual.co.uk/about-us> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

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<https://limits2growth.org.uk/publication/wellbeing-matters-tackling-growth-dependency-briefing-paper/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

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⁴⁶ For more on the Amsterdam city doughnut, see: <https://www.kateraworth.com/2020/04/08/amsterdam-city-doughnut/> [Accessed 3 May 2020]

⁴⁷ Raworth, Kate (2017) Doughnut Economics: Seven Ways to Think Like a 21st-Century Economist, Random House Business

Further reading

For more on the proposals set out in Green Steps to Better:

<https://www.carolinelucas.com>

<https://greennewdealgroup.org/>

<https://limits2growth.org.uk/>

